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putting an end to war in the very near future, though I have lost not a bit of my pluck, and am as earnest in putting in every inch of strength available on the side that seeks to put an end to war. My optimistic faith has been somewhat diminished, for the reason that I observe the coincidence of the two movements. I find that the peace and the war movements increase in intensity; they run parallel; that the same people often who are preaching peace are earnest and foremost in promoting war. I ask myself what are the causes?

You have such an admirable recital of the causes and remedies in the first paper of the evening, I shall ask your leave to call attention to only one or two.

I believe the *tedium vitæ* is one cause. Life, for the majority of men is so somber and gray, and any excitement is welcome. I think the desire or the need of an outlet for surplus population is one of the great causes; so is economic rivalry for distant colonial markets.

But I think there is another cause, and that is that we are not beginning fair. The world is in such a situation that we can say to the nations, Let us cease accretion. The present situation is the result of accretion, the result of wrongs—recent or very recent, or at least not so far distant in the past—wrongs that still rancor in the conscience of the present generation. Our friends, the Poles, would not be very happy in studying the geographical distribution or dismemberment of the country for which they have not yet, after all these years, lost their patriotic resentment. Then there is the fact that England has taken possession of all the corner lots on the globe, and that there are nations that once were great mercantile powers before England had achieved its power on the waters who seek their right to live and to grow and to expand. I call your attention sharply to these points. Now let there be no accretion from this moment on; what does that mean but to ratify accretion of today, unless we remember a very quiet word which Dr. Eliot introduced, and to which I listened with intense attention—the very quiet phrase that means so much: “Territorial Rectification.” I ask you to realize the immensity of the problem, looking that fact in the face, and don’t be harping on these sentimental and pecuniary aspects—those which make the problem appear small. It is a terribly complex and difficult problem.

Now as to the outlook. The Hague Tribunal has the one defect—that it consists chiefly of lawyers. I should like to see there men of affairs, men of judgment, men of experience. The legal mind inevitably is more or less prone to follow laws and precedent; and in the case of a national tribunal a certain flexibility is desirable, which has not become the virtue of those who have been trained in the legal method of adjudicating disputes. My main point is this: that there needs to be at the disposal of that great court of justice a great force. I do not believe that a police force selected by the different nations or deputed will overawe those great powers who are disposed to do wrong. The most serious factor in the situation is that the great powers of Europe, as we have seen in Persia, are disposed to do or to allow wrong—that they will knowingly and defiantly transgress justice. And the remedy is not by a police force that represents a few of the more prominent of these selfish powers. We have had the principle of national selfishness proclaimed in the Senate of the United States

by one of the most distinguished members of that body, *i. e.*, that morality is the law of individuals and selfishness the law of collectivity. No police will check these wrongdoers or serve the purpose of a tribunal. The only force to do that must be a cross-section through all the civilized nations, all the moral forces; a public opinion in favor of—not peace at any price; a protest, not against cruelty and not against waste, but a public opinion protesting that nations shall not do wrong.

## A Multitude of Peace Ambassadors.

By Rev. A. Eugene Bartlett, D. D.

The truth about America must be made known to the average European if we are to prevent war, establish a permanent tribunal at the Hague, and develop a world law.

On a Mediterranean boat we met a little Neapolitan lady who was going home to Italy, joyous in the thought that she would be able to tell her friends and neighbors about America. She had spent two weeks in New York city and one in New Haven! One night at a little inn in Rouen we found two Englishmen trying to tell the Frenchmen and the few Americans what America was like. The notions which those Englishmen were obstreperously putting forward were such that we began to fear for their own safety. Their thought of America may have been true in a few instances in 1812, but it was not true in 1912.

What opinion of America does the average European hold? Every year some men of letters come here and take a hurried look at our cities and institutions, and write a book about America. One such traveler has recently declared that Chicago is a quiet city, and another has said it is a clean city. These superficial opinions amuse our citizens, but do little in the way of educating sentiment in Europe. A David Starr Jordan or a Nicholas Murray Butler goes to Europe in the interests of peace, and meets leading scholars and statesmen, themselves more or less Anglicized; but these special emissaries are looked upon, even as they are, as exceptional men, by the Europeans who meet them.

It is of primary importance to the peace movement that the men of Europe, the rank and file of them, and even so the men of the Orient, should have the right ideas concerning America. They must know something of our institutions, and they must appreciate our spirit and come to believe in our integrity and our desire for brotherhood. Shortly, whether there shall be war or peace, will be determined not by kings, but by the people. In the near future the farmer in the field, the artisan in the shop—yes, the mother in the home—will have a word to say as to whether war or peace shall prevail. “Nobody who really knows the American people can ever doubt that their sentiments are thoroughly friendly toward us,” said Prince Tokugara, President of the Japanese House of Peers, at a dinner in Tokyo given to Mr. Hamilton Holt and Mr. Lindsey Russell a little over a year ago. Just here is the real difficulty—the people do not for the most part really know the American people. The rulers, the financiers, the heads of universities appreciate to a considerable extent the genius and spirit of the American people, but the average man and woman are still woefully ignorant.

Not only in Spain, but even in England and Ger-

many, among the multitude of common workers you will find today jealousy of America. If any altercation arose between the nations just mentioned we feel sure a popular vote would surprise and chagrin the peace lovers. The cause of their distrust of America is very likely that of Charles Lamb for a certain fellow. "I—I—I—hate that man," said Lamb. "Why do you hate him?" asked his friend; "you do not know him." Replied Lamb, with rare good sense: "That's why I hate." If what Jeremy Bentham called mischief on a large scale is to cease among the nations, it is high time that we undertook to spread among the commoners of Europe the right thought of the Republic. Let ignorance persist, and we shall yet "reel back into the beast" as the result of new and unexpected wars.

Upon what does the average European base his idea of America? He judges America by the liberal samples that are sent over every year under the name of tourists. He watches them rush into cathedrals, even in the midst of solemn worship, talking loudly and caring nothing apparently for the sanctities of the place set apart for the worship of God. He meets them in the shops no better mannered. If he understands English, he hears them talking of the superiority of America in a boasting manner which angers him. Our European brother notes their hurry from one great work of art to another in a wild scurry to do it all and have done with it today. Is it any wonder that he comes to think of the Americans as crude, ignorant, and provoking!

We have often thought of the great fleet of ships that cross the Atlantic as vessels of peace, bringing the nations nearer and nearer together. We have thought of low rates of passage as a boon to the cause of peace, just as Elihu Burritt felt ocean penny post would be one great step toward universal peace. But sometimes these ships carry war germs. Rev. William C. Gannett tells of "unconscious promoters of peace." There are also unconscious promoters of war. These hundreds and thousands of tourists who enter Europe are not intending to spread discord. They are good-natured and good-intentioned for the most part, and far better educated than the Europeans who casually meet them imagine. Thoughtlessness is their great crime. But verily, I believe that these tourists increase the war tension and make the words of Emerson still untrue. He said: "War is on its last legs."

There is a goodly proportion of school teachers, professors, and ministers in this multitude who cross season by season, and they can be reached and influenced. Here is new work for the propagandists that waits to be done and will quickly prove fertile. A few of our prominent men go to Europe and the Orient on errands of peace. Think what it would mean if all the thousands who go to Europe this summer were each to become a peace emissary! What if every American who goes abroad should go anxious to show respect for the customs and reverence for the institutions of the country which he enters! What if each American traveler went with the thought in mind of winning those Europeans that he met to a new understanding of what America really is and of her deep-seated desire to become a friend and brother to the nations beyond her!

Not only do the Europeans find out but a few, and those often wrong, things about the tourists, but the

travelers themselves learn far less of the life of the countries than they should. It has become the thing to follow in the beaten track—to see certain historic buildings, certain important art galleries in the chief cities. Consult the average tourist returned home, and ask him how certain cities are meeting the housing problem; ask them about the methods of transportation in the rush hours; concerning industrial hygiene and labor insurance; about social settlements, charities, public relief, children's work, etc. I venture you will find them grossly ignorant of most of these things.

How shall these tourists be made into peace ambassadors? In a short, attractive leaflet suggest the right attitude, the desirable conduct for a visitor in Europe. Note concisely the reasons for their rightly representing their home land. Bid them seek every opportunity while abroad to meet and know better their brothers in other lands. Mention the desirability of not only studying art, but also life. Suggest the inspection of industrial plants, social institutions, and organizations for human betterment. Let one of these illuminating brochures be placed in the state-room of each outgoing ship, and I venture to believe that some new miracles looking toward peace and brotherhood will be wrought in the next few years. The steamship companies will without doubt lend their co-operation, for this will mean happy trips for those who travel, and, more, the Europeans who become acquainted with this truer American type will be anxious themselves to visit America and know more of her and her people. The Bureau of University Travel, the New York University School of Commerce, and perhaps other agencies, are already conducting trips that study economics.

In days past Crusaders started on long journeys armed with swords. Today there is a new crusade, and the men and women of the ranks are armed with little red guide-books, cameras, and sun-shades. We ask that the importance of this latest crusade be not overlooked. We ask that these pilgrims carry the weapons of peace, promulgating the new gospel of brotherhood. Not insignificant will be their words, not unnoticed their actions. Their words and deeds, as they hurry from city to city, will find soil as little mustard seeds, and lo! when they have grown in human hearts we shall find the great tree of peace sufficient to shelter the nations.

Let the great ambassadors go with their learning to the courts, but let also the hundreds and thousands go with the same great message to win the commoners of Europe to a new respect and a new love for our own America!

### Eugenics and Militarism.

Prof. Vernon Kellogg, of Leland Stanford University, has an informing article in the July *Atlantic* entitled "Eugenics and Militarism." The following abstract gives in no sense an adequate presentation of Professor Kellogg's thought. But the facts as given will be welcomed by our workers in the field:

The problem of eugenics is the problem of good breeding of the human species. It is good Darwinian doctrine that the overproduction of individuals and their reduction by death to a fractional part of the original number is one of the basic conditions of progress. But the advantage of mortality depends upon the impartiality of the application of its causes.